

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

81.—No. 3.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 20TH, 1833.

[Price, 1s. 2d.]



POLICE.

Bolt-court, 18. July, 1833.

THE public mind is agitated very much upon this subject; and great importance is shown to know the result of inquiries of the committee of the House of Commons, for which it is generally known that I was the mover, of which it is as generally known that I am a member. This is what is called a *select committee*; and it would be manifestly improper for any member of the committee to make, or cause to be made, any publication or promulgation of a knowledge of the proceedings, so far as relates to the nature of the evidence taken, until after the committee has concluded its labours and laid the result before the House. Nor, would it even then, be right for any member of the committee to promulgate a knowledge of that which might take place in discussions in the committee itself, otherwise than by a statement made to the whole House, which is frequently done by members of committees, who think it necessary to state their reasons for not concurring in a report, which has been agreed to by a majority of the committee.

In this being the case, my readers will expect from me nothing more than a narrative of the steps taken by the committee, such as are known to every man and door-keeper about the House, but which cannot be known to the public in general.

On the 3. of July certain members of the committee met, amongst whom was one, and Mr. ALDERMAN WOOD

was appointed chairman. This was on a Wednesday. On Friday, the 5. of July, we met and took the evidence of four of the petitioners, Messrs. BROWN, PRICE, SIMPSON, and FREDERICK YOUNG. On Monday, the 8., we took the evidence of Messrs. HERSEE, SHELLEY, WOODFORD, and COLLINS, and also the evidence of Mr. McHENRY, who was not a petitioner; and further, the evidence of the superintendent, McLEAN. On Wednesday, the 10., we took the evidence of POPAY, and of the commissioners, ROWAN and MAYNE, the commissioners putting in, at the same time, the WRITTEN REPORTS which POPAY had made to McLEAN, and which had been delivered to the commissioners, and by them kept; and, of course, these reports compose part of the evidence which we have now before us. On this day, POPAY asked to have legal assistance; and the committee determined to meet on the Friday, to settle on what course we should then pursue, as well with regard to this request of POPAY, as with regard to the written reports which we had received. On the Friday, then, it was determined to present a petition to the House on the part of POPAY, to grant him legal assistance in the cross-examining of the witnesses who appeared against him; and it was also agreed, that a sub-committee should meet on Saturday, the 13.; that is to say, the next day, to read and consider the written reports, and to offer their opinion as to whether they should be printed or not. On Saturday, the 13., the sub-committee met and examined the reports accordingly. On Wednesday, the 17., the committee met again, time having been given to POPAY to find out, if he could, witnesses to bring on his behalf. I should observe here, that the chairman had permitted a manuscript copy of all the evidence against POPAY to be taken to the HOME OFFICE; that is to say, to be written out and carried to the Secretary of State; and that, when POPAY

came before us on Friday, the 12., he told us that he had seen all that evidence, and that he had, in consequence, framed a great number of questions which he wished to have put to the witnesses. When we met on Wednesday, the 17., we found, that POPAY had no lawyer as he had been permitted to have, if he chose; but he brought his questions to put to the witnesses, and put those questions himself. On this day we proceeded with the cross-examination. And, the reader will give us credit for our patience, when I tell him, that there were ten of us present, during nearly the whole of the time, and that we sat four whole hours, to hear the cross-examination of two witnesses, Messrs. BROWN and PRICE. We then adjourned until Friday, 12 o'clock, when we are to resume the cross-examination.

If the public think, that here has been *extraordinary indulgence* granted by the committee to POPAY and to the *Home Office*, I think so too; but this indulgence has had, in every case, my *heartly concurrence*. Let that be clearly understood by the public. The charges made by the petitioners were heavy; and, besides that justice towards the other party, demanded that every opportunity should be given for the defence, it was wise, in order to give public satisfaction, that every possible indulgence should be given to those who had to make that defence. The complaint, therefore, which I made to the House on Monday night, was not that too great indulgence, of any sort, had been granted; but that, a newspaper, called the "*Police Gazette*," had stated that POPAY "had seen the evidence; that he had made extracts from it; that he had found part of it to be *false*; and that, the whole was doubtful from the *discreditable character of the witnesses*." This was what I complained of. I complained, that the indulgence which we had granted, had been converted into the means of aspersing the characters of the witnesses that had been brought before us; and I thought it my duty to state to the House, that I believed that every one of those wit-

nesses was a man of spotless character, and of sober, honest, and laborious life: this I did believe, and this I believe now; and, upon this point, I am very anxious, it being my first duty, in this case, to take care, that these petitioners receive no injury on account of having petitioned. I made full inquiries on this head, before I presented the petition; I saw every one of the petitioners, and I was satisfied, not only of the truth of their allegations, but also of their good and unimpeachable character. Of all this I should have said nothing, however, had it not been for the publication which I have mentioned above.

Thus the matter stands at present; and I beg the public to be assured, that the committee will proceed diligently to bring the affair to as speedy a termination as possible, consistent with what is due to all the parties. I regret, exceedingly, that so many industrious men, some of whom cannot well afford it, should lose so much time; but, we must recollect, that, as the YANKEES say, "*All of us must wait upon the law*." It needs must be, that abuses will arise; and if men will not bestow a little time, in order to assist in correcting those abuses, or to ascertain whether they exist or not, such men have no right to complain. The conduct of these petitioners has, in this respect, been most exemplary: they have always been ready; have stood for hours and hours in a passage waiting upon our call; have testified no impatience whatever; have given us not one moment of trouble, or caused one moment of delay; and have seemed to grudge no loss of their valuable time, which loss was necessary to the performance of their public duty.

It is impossible for me to say, when the committee will be able to make its report; but I should think, that it is likely, that the report, with the evidence, may be laid before the House by the 26. or 27. of this month. This is merely a *conjecture*, observe. It is impossible that I can know, or that any one of the committee can know, what the report will be, or precisely when it can

be made. This is my conjecture, and I beg the public to be assured, that I have perceived, neither in the committee, nor in the House, nor, indeed, in the Ministers themselves, any disposition whatever to prevent this inquiry being full and impartial, and leading to a just result.

I have received a petition from NEWCASTLE, and another from NOTTINGHAM; aye, and one from Edinburgh too, relative to this affair. There are now but two days in a week when petitions can be presented; and these days are the very days on which alone select committees can meet. So that I must either be *absent from the committee*, which I ought not to be, or I cannot present the petitions. This being the case, I, on the 17., committed the petitions, on this subject, to Mr. FEARGUS O'CONNER, a gentleman on whom I could rely for doing the thing better than I could have done it myself; but, according to the rules of the House, his turn did not come; and, therefore, these petitions have not yet been presented.

I have also petitions, very numerous, signed, for the adjustment of the *legacy and probate duties*, the *whole extent* of the cruelties of which I have never known till now. This is a *great matter*: and one that *must be put to rights*, if this Government mean to go on at all with the approbation of the people. This one single matter is quite enough to engage the whole of the time of any one man, complicated as the question has been made, and cruel as the burden is, descending down even to the poor family, who have had left them by will, any sum exceeding five pounds, on which the tax, or money paid in some shape or other to the Government or its officers, is, in proportion, I believe, more than five hundred times as great as it is on a family who have had left them by will a *million* of money. This is a matter which I never can quit, while I have tongue and pen, and sanity wherewith to move either. The petitions on the subject I shall present as soon as I can; but I cannot say when I shall be able to present them. The petitioners may be assured, that I will

not neglect my duty, let who will be Ministers, and let who will be Members of Parliament.

At present, my time must be devoted to the committee of the police-affair. I should mention, that I have a petition from GODALMING, in Surrey, upon the subject of short Parliaments, which I propose to present on the day, or the day before, Mr. TENNYSON's motion is made for a repeal of the *Septennial Act*. I have several other petitions, which I will present as soon as possible. I have received from Lord MELBOURNE the following letter, in answer to the one which I did myself the honour to write to him, when I transmitted to his Lordship the ADDRESS from the people of the sensible and spirited town of NOTTINGHAM, and that from my constituents of OLDHAM, both beseeching his Majesty to turn out his Ministers.

" Whitehall, 17. July, 1833.

" SIR,—I am directed by Viscount Melbourne to inform you, that his Lordship has not failed to lay before the King, the two addresses which accompanied your letter of the 12. instant, the one from the inhabitants of the town of Nottingham and its vicinity, and the other from the Borough of Oldham.

" I have the honour to be, Sir,

" Your obedient servant,

" SAMUEL PHILLIPS."

" William Cobbett, Esq., M. P.

" Bolt-court."

I have just received a letter from NORTH SHIELDS, of which the following is a copy:—

" North Shields, 16. July, 1833.

" DEAR SIR,—As chairman of a meeting of the North Shields Political Union and its friends, held in the market-place, in front of the Quay, yesterday afternoon, at which between three and four thousand persons were assembled for the purpose of passing resolutions condemnatory of the policy of the Whig servants of the King, I have great pleasure in informing you that the predictions made by you in your excellent letter in the *True Sun* of Saturday last, were, as to our town,

"literally fulfilled. You say 'that there
 "is not a chance of stirring any score
 "men in the kingdom to utter even half
 "a sentence to prevent the driving out
 "of the Ministry and the dissolution of
 "the Parliament itself.' At the con-
 "clusion of the reading of the first re-
 "solution, condemning not only the
 "Whig Ministry, but the Whig Par-
 "liament, Mr. R——, who was,
 "during the excitement caused by the
 "Reform Bill, one of the most popular
 "men of our town, stepped forward
 "with an amendment expressing con-
 "fidence in the Ministers, which, on be-
 "ing put by me, only found, amongst
 "the mass assembled, a dozen hands
 "held up in its favour, whilst the reso-
 "lution, although expressed in the
 "strongest terms, was carried amidst
 "loud and deafening cheerings. After
 "the meeting had separated, myself
 "and a few friends, on reading your
 "letter in the *True Sun* (which we
 "had not previously seen), determined
 "on making you acquainted with how
 "fully, in one instance, your assertion
 "as above was borne out.

"Wishing you prolonged health and
 "strength to continue battling with the
 "enemies of your country,

"I am, dear Sir,

"Yours very faithfully,

"JOHN TURNBULL."

"Mr. Wm. Cobbett, M. P."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TRUE SUN.

SIR,—The case is this: the Irish Church "Reform" Bill, as it is falsely called, is now before the Lords, after having been sent from the Commons by the Whig majority, against a minority, composed partly of Tories, and partly of Radicals, amongst whom I should certainly have been one, if I had been present at the division. Indeed, as I told Mr. O'CONNELL, when we voted for leave to bring in the bill, I should have voted against the passing of it, even without any of the alterations that have been made since, unless it contained some clearly defined principle; and, at

the same time, some provisions which would inevitably tend to mend the lot of the great mass of the *working people* of Ireland. The bill was nothing of this sort: it was founded on no principle, either ancient or modern, either in law or in equity; and, while it threw ten bishops overboard, without assigning any reason for not throwing ten more overboard, it, in fact, did nothing but transfer the property of the ten bishops to the rich landowners or the money-mongers, leaving the sub-tenants of the lands to be a great deal more hardly squeezed than they were before. This bill verified a prediction of mine, addressed to the parsons in 1817, when I told them that if they did not mind what they were about, the time was not distant when the money-mongers would throw them overboard, and take the spoil to themselves. I must again observe, that Mr. LALOR proposed a clause in this bill, to protect the sub-tenants of the bishops' lands, from being made worse off than they were before, in consequence of this bill; and that this clause was rejected with scorn; so that the bill was not intended to do any good to the main body of the people of Ireland; and yet the *Morning Chronicle* of to-day censures Mr. O'CONNELL, Mr. HUME, Mr. TENNYSON, and others, for having voted against the passing of this bill.

Well, Sir, the bill is now in the House of Lords: its fate is to be determined on Wednesday night next; it is expected to be demolished; it is supposed that that demolition will demolish the Ministry, who have taken their resolution to stand or fall by this worthless bill. This is the state of the case; and the *Times* and *Chronicle* of to-day are setting up a howl upon the occasion, such as you have heard from a guilty cur, when he sees the broomstick raised over his head.

They tell us that Sir JOHN WROT-
 TESLEY has given notice of a motion to be made on Monday for the House to be called over on *Thursday*, when, according to these papers, the Commons are to "assert their power." And the *Times* tells us, that Sir JOHN is to make a motion on the *Thursday*, "to pray his Ma-

“ Majesty to provide the means of accomplishing a church reform, equal at least, to that rejected by the Lords ”; and this, the *Chronicle* says, is to be “ the first open rupture, the declared hostility, between the two Houses of Parliament.” Then the *Chronicle* calls upon the Commons, “ to play the men.” It does not tell us precisely how they are to “ play the men ;” but it tells us, in general terms, that the Tories will be defeated.

This is the state in which this affair now is. And, it is as clear as daylight to me, that the now-despised names of *Whig* and of *Tory*, that these mere names, will now have not the weight of a feather with the people; and that it is the people who will, after all, decide who shall rule. It is curious to observe, that neither *Times* nor *Chronicle* now says one single word about an appeal to the people. It is the “ *Commons of the Realm*” that they now talk about: it is the “ House of Commons ” that is now the breakwater between the Tories and revolution: “ it is the power of the Commons’ House of Parliament ” that is now to be asserted. Not a word about the people, any more than if there were none. The *Chronicle* concludes with a pious prayer, that, as the question is not one of “ confidence in Ministers,” it “ ardently hopes, that all party cabals and separate interests will be suspended, and that the first REFORMED House of Commons will not fail in its duty.” Ah! CHRONNY! It is too late, my poor Old Granny: it is too late to whimper and to whine: this “ reformed ” House has lived too long, and done too many things that are never to be forgotten, to leave you a chance of stirring up any score men in the kingdom to utter, even half a sentence to prevent the driving out of the Ministry and the dissolution of the Parliament itself. In all the great towns, meetings have been held for the purpose of sending forward petitions or addresses to the King, for turning out the Ministers and dissolving the Parliament. I myself presented a petition, a little while ago, to the House of Commons, praying the House

to address his Majesty to turn out the Ministers; a petition full of sound sense and sound reasoning, and unanswered by any one that heard it read. I, yesterday, sent two addresses to Lord MELBOURNE, accompanied with a letter to his Lordship, of which the following is a copy:

Bolt-court, 12. July, 1833.

My Lord,—In the discharge of my duty as a Member of the House of Commons, I herewith send to your Lordship, as Secretary of State for the Home Department, two addresses to his Majesty, one from a numerous meeting of his loyal and dutiful subjects, the people of Nottingham; and the other from his subjects, equally loyal and dutiful, and still more numerous, of the borough of Oldham, in the county of Lancaster; both addresses praying that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to dismiss his present Ministers from his service.

When your Lordship shall have been pleased to submit these humble and dutiful addresses to his Majesty, and shall have taken his Majesty’s pleasure thereon, I request your Lordship to have the goodness to favour me with any answer that his Majesty may be graciously pleased to give to them, in order that I may communicate the same to those persons who have done me the very great honour to make me the channel of this communication.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship’s most humble
and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

To the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Melbourne.

So that Sir JOHN WROTTESELEY’S motion may be made as soon as the honourable Baronet shall be pleased to make it. Why, Sir, even the Common Council of London dare not call a meeting for the purpose of upholding the present Ministry; and, as to a Common Hall, in the city, there would be a thousand to one to vote against any proposition, tending even by a side wind, to insinuate confidence either in this Ministry or in this House of Commons.

The *Chronicle* would fain terrify us with the words "*Tory*" and "*revolution*;" but we ask, what worse can the Tories give us than that which we are receiving from the Whigs? We do not, because we dare not, characterize this House of Commons; nor do we venture to describe its conduct; but we do venture to say, that even this "*reformed constituency*," which they have given us, will not do us an injury in consequence of their having another choice to make. Indeed, we see a great advantage in the members being sent back to their several sets of constituents, while their conduct in the House is so fresh in every man's mind.

But, Sir, the main thing which I wish to observe upon is, the following passage in the *Chronicle*: "*The Tories might probably bid high for the Ultra-Radicals; but a repeal of the house and window and malt taxes would be only a temporary sop to CERBERUS. They could devise no substitute; and after dwelling a short period in a hornet's nest, they would more gladly quit office than they entered it. The evils, however, of their return to office would be incalculable; and its probable fatal results make the heart tremble.*" The heart of a *Whig place-hunter*, this writer means, to be sure; for, as to any body else, I see no reason for the trembling of hearts. But there are, it seems, "*Ultra-Radicals*," whom this impudent tax-hunter, and, probably, tax-eater, thus designates in the way of reproach; he tells us, that the Tories will probably humour them by taking off the malt and house and window taxes. And who are these *Ultra-Radicals*? Nothing short of the whole of the industrious part of the people, who have been praying and imploring in vain; who have been almost upon their knees before this "*reformed*" House of Commons, to get released from these intolerable burdens: I say the whole of the industrious part of the people, whom this insolent Whig-hireling has the base audacity to call CERBERUS; that is to say, the hungry and greedy dog that is stationed at the gate of the infernal re-

gions! But this has always been the practice of the Whigs: they have always treated the people with contempt when they themselves were in power. They fawned upon the people, only fourteen months since, when they wanted their aid to be kept in power. Then they sought the aid of the working people; then they approved of Political Unions; now we find them, or their immediate underlings, sending spies into those Unions; now the people are CERBERUS: in May last but one the people were every thing that was good.

Oh, no! Sir! not a single voice amongst the industrious people will be heard against the turning out of this Ministry, or the dissolving of this Parliament. The people have no taste for paying twenty millions of money to prevail upon slave-holders to cease to "violate the laws of God and man;" the people have no taste for adding in this one year thirty or forty millions to the debt; for keeping up an army of more than a hundred thousand men, and for crouching down before Russia at the same time; the people have no fancy for these things; and, if it be "*probable*," that the Tories will take off the malt and house and window taxes, is it not beastly to suppose, that the people will stir hand or tongue to prevent that which makes the heart of the *Chronicle* tremble?

The last hope seems to be, that there must be two hundred new members to keep the Tories in power. I will pledge myself for the two hundred, if the Tories will pledge themselves to take off the malt and house and window taxes. At any rate, I will pledge myself that the change which makes the heart of the *Chronicle* tremble, will not produce any thing worse than that which I now behold.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient, humble servant,
WM. COBBETT

Bolt-court, July 13.

OF THE PRETTY PICKLE IN WHICH THE WHIGS ARE PLACED.

To the Editor of the True Sun.

Bolt court, 16. July, 1833.

SIR,—The *Times* and the *Morning Chronicle* of to-day seem to be steeped up to the very ears in the same pickle. But before I notice them, let me state the case, which is as follows: On Friday last Sir JOHN WROTTESLEY gave notice, that he should, on Monday (last night), move for the House to be called over on Thursday next. On the Saturday, the *Globe* newspaper (demi-official) told its readers, that the House was to be got together in great force for the Thursday, in order to come to a resolution, that it was proper that the Ministers should not adhere to their pledge relative to the Irish Church Bill, which it was then expected the Lords would throw out on the Wednesday. This was something too monstrous to be believed, even of the Whigs; and what was the muster to take place? It evidently was to do a something in opposition to what was supposed would be the proceedings of the Lords. Yesterday, in the forenoon, it was pretty well known; and it must be pretty well known to me to have heard it, that the Lords did not intend to throw out the Bill on Wednesday night, but intended to go into a committee on it, and then to proceed with it according to their own fancy. This seems to have changed the way of thinking of the Ministers with regard to the movements in the other House. Sir JOHN WROTTESLEY made his motion, Sir ROBERT PEEL wished to withdraw it, Lord EBRINGTON spoke against the withdrawing it, and there certainly would have been a great majority in favour of the motion; but, to the surprise, apparently, of every one, and certainly to my great surprise, Lord ALTHORP and Mr. STANLEY joined in the proposition to withdraw the motion; and, in case of not withdrawing, they declared their intention to vote against it. Sir J. WROTTESLEY expressed his readiness to withdraw the motion, if those who had spoken for it would give their

consent. They would not consent; a division took place, and let the public judge what a medley of motives must have been at work, when Mr. HARVEY and I sat voting with Lord ALTHORP and Sir ROBERT PEEL; and when Mr. O'CONNELL and Colonel EVANS were walking out of the House with Lord EBRINGTON and others of the staunchest of the Whigs.

This division, therefore, decided nothing, except this, that the Ministers, seeing a gleam of hope of softening the Lords, had not the pluck to come to an open division against them. Another thing was, however, settled; namely, that they were resolved to quit their places, if the Irish bill were thrown out or materially altered: so that, if they ever had entertained the base idea imputed to them by the *Globe*, they had, at any rate, recovered from that fit of monstrous degradation.

Now, then, with regard to this proceeding in the lower House: I voted against the motion, because its avowed object was, to assemble us together to be prepared to do a something, in order to keep in the Ministers, if the Lords should throw out the Church Bill. For, in the first place, I would do nothing to keep them in, but would be quite ready to obey my constituents in assisting to put them out; and, in the next place, I was not disposed to give my consent to this sort of menace thrown out against the House of Lords. The *Times* and the *Chronicle* talk about the Lords being opposed to the House of Commons and to the people, in the face of the notorious fact, that addresses and petitions are coming from all quarters, praying the KING to do that very thing which Lord EBRINGTON and Sir JOHN WROTTESLEY said that the Lords want to do! No, no! It is not against the people that the Lords are deciding, but for the people; and I gave my vote against this in accordance with the prayers of my constituents; and, most curious to relate, while I voted for putting the Ministers out of place, they voted along with me, in the hope of keeping themselves in! If there be a "lower deep" than this, it must be somewhere

under the bottom of the bottom. The *Chronicle* tells us, that the Lords oppose themselves to every measure that is for the good of the people. I have proved that the Local Courts Bill would have been to the great injury of the people; this Church Bill is also to the injury of the small renters and the working people of Ireland; that is to say, to the great mass of the people. What right, then, have the people to complain of the Lords? The Lords will save us I hope from the twenty millions to be squandered on the West Indians, and also from the legal-tender project, and that other silly and unmeaning thing about English tithes. And, am I to quarrel with the Lords for this? And should I be acting in accordance with my pledges to my constituents, if I were to array myself against the Lords because they endanger the places of these Ministers by rejecting their mischievous projects? Let the Factory Bill be passed by the Commons; let a bill be passed to repeal the malt and house and window taxes; let the Lords reject these bills; and then the people may think it their duty to side with the Whigs, in a constitutional manner, by address and petition, and thereby endeavour to keep the Ministers in their places. But, would not the people be little better, and very little better, than brutes, if they were to join in clamours against the Lords, because the proceedings of the Lords tend to the putting an end to a Ministry and a House of Commons *who rescinded on the Tuesday* a vote for the repeal of the malt tax, which it *had passed on the previous Friday*? Would they not be brutes, were they to do this thing? Aye, and in order to preserve in their places a Ministry, who, in the course of three years, have inflicted more punishment on the press, than all the Ministries put together, during thirty years before.

What the Lords may be pleased to do with regard to the Irish Church Bill, or any other of the projects, I do not know, and I shall make no endeavour to find out. But this I know, that they may do just what they please with regard to these projects for any power that the Minis-

ters have to prevent them; and I further know, that at this very moment, ninety-nine hundredths of the people approve of their conduct as far as they have gone. What! are the people to be called on to reproach the House of Lords, because they do not work for the keeping of a Whig Ministry in their places? Only imagine what our situation would be, if there were no House of Lords at this moment! Judge how we should feel ourselves, if we were at the sole mercy of the Whig majority in the Commons! And, mind, there is no difference between there being no *House of Lords*, and a House of Lords under the command of the House of Commons. What! are the House of Lords tyrants, because they reject bills sent to them by the Commons? Are the Senate of the Congress of America tyrants, because they very frequently reject the bills sent to them by the House of Representatives? And are the governors and president tyrants, because they very frequently put their *vetos* on bills sent them by both Houses? Of all the monsters in government, the greatest monster is that of a single numerous assembly having all real power exclusively in its own hands; and this monster we should have to live under, if the people of this country were now to lend an ear to those who are endeavouring to excite them to approve of projects to nullify the voice of the House of Lords. We should be absolutely without hope, if it were not for that House at this moment; and, let it be observed, that its destruction would be as effectual by sending a whole parcel to augment its numbers, as by a law to put the House down altogether; and, with this I conclude, that it is those very men, who are (in vain) endeavouring to instigate the people to call for this destruction; it is these very men who are accusing others of a design to produce a "*revolution*."

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

J E W S.

THESE descendants of the murderers of JESUS CHRIST seem to be bestirring themselves upon the Continent, as well as in England; but, they no where, except here, have the presumption to be put upon an *equality with Christians*. The following ordinance, just issued in PRUSSIA, will show what is going to be done with regard to them in the Grand Duchy of POSEN. The reader will see, that the King of PRUSSIA means, that the Jews shall WORK at something or another, like other people; and, if the King of PRUSSIA accomplish THAT, the King of PRUSSIA is really God's *vicegerent* on earth; for it will be a greater miracle than ever was wrought before: to make these devils work, and to cease to live by cheating, traffic, and usury, can be accomplished by no power but that which could raise men from the dead. It is to attempt to counteract the dispensations of Providence to put these fellows upon a level with Christians in every respect, except that of merely being allowed to live.

P R U S S I A.

Berlin, 7. July.

The latest number of the Bulletin of the Laws contains his Majesty's ordinance relative to the civil condition of the Jews in the Grand Duchy of Posen. It is of the following tenor:

We, Frederick William, by the grace of God, King of Prussia, &c.

Having convinced ourself of the necessity of ameliorating as soon as possible the civil condition of the Jews in our Grand Duchy of Posen, and without waiting for the promulgation of a general law on the civil and political relations of the Jews, embracing all the provinces of our monarchy, and to remove the doubts which proceed from the state of the legislation on this subject; we therefore have resolved on the following provisional regulations for that purpose, which may be completed and altered conformably with the enactments of the general law to be hereafter promulgated.

Sect. 1. The Jewish inhabitants of

every place form, as hitherto, a religious community tolerated by the state, but which, with respect to what concerns its property, has the rights of a corporation. If the Jews of several places have hitherto been united in one synagogue, this union shall continue likewise with regard to the affairs of the corporation.

2. This corporate union extends only to the internal affairs of the synagogal communities; in other civil concerns no such union between the members of the Jewish communities subsists.

3. Every Jew residing in the district of a synagogue, belongs to a corporation.

4. The right to vote in these corporations on the affairs mentioned in sec. 2, belongs to every Jewish male of good character and of full age, who either possesses real property, or carries on trade on his own account, or otherwise lives independent, without the aid of others.

5. The members qualified to vote, shall, in the presence and under the superintendence of a commissioner of the Government, elect a number of representatives, and these again choose the administering officers, who are to be confirmed by the Government, and who exercise their office gratuitously.

6, 7, 8, relate to the number of the representatives and officers, their reciprocal rights, &c.

9. The Jewish corporations, especially the administering officers, are bound to take care that no child fit for school, from the age of seven years to that of fourteen complete, shall be without the necessary school education. They are to take care on their own responsibility that all children, boys as well as girls, of the above age, shall frequent the public schools; and they are further bound to provide wholly indigent children with the necessary clothing, the school-money, and the other requisites for their attendance in the schools, either from any special fund assigned for that purpose, or, if there is none such, from the property of the corporation.

10. By public schools are understood

the Christian schools as well as the Jewish schools, established with the permission of the state according to a prescribed plan, and provided with duly qualified Jewish teachers confirmed by the government. However, the private education of the children may be allowed to the parents as an exception, with the express consent of the Government.

11. It is reserved to every community to provide for the special religious instruction of the Jewish children; but only such persons shall be admitted as teachers of religion, who have been authorised by the state to practise as teachers.

12. The language to be used in giving instruction in the Jewish schools is the German.

13. After the Jewish boys have completed their school education, the administrative officers of the corporations are to take care (and for this they are made responsible) that every boy shall learn some useful trade, and shall qualify himself in the scientific institutions for a superior profession; and that none of them shall be employed as itinerant traders or artisans. They shall endeavour to accomplish this in concert with the parents or guardians; and if they fail in this, they are to apply to the counsellor of the circle, who shall call on the parents or guardians to destine the boys either to an art or science, or to agriculture, or to a useful handicraft, or to manufacture and to trade in some fixed place.

14. The military obligations of the Jews in the Grand Duchy of Posen will be regulated in the sequel as in the other provinces, till the Jews duly qualified may enter the army as volunteers. In this case the volunteer and his father are exempt from the payment of the recruit money, which will continue to be paid by those fathers whose sons do not enter the service.

15. The marriage of a Jew with a foreign woman is not to be allowed, unless the woman has a marriage portion of at least 500 dollars. Dispensations in certain urgent cases to be obtained from the high president of the province.

16. The local government are to take

care that the affairs of the corporation shall be regulated within six months from the publication of this ordinance.

17. The general requisites in naturalisation are—

(a) An unexceptionable character.

(b) The ability or the obligation to use the German language exclusively in all public concerns, testaments, accounts, &c. (The high president, or the application of the local government may dispense with this requisite)—

(c) The adoption of a special family name.

18. These preliminaries being supposed, those shall be removed into the class of natural Jews who can prove—

(a) That they have constantly resided in the Grand Duchy of Posen ever since the year 1815, or that they have subsequently obtained the express permission of the government to settle in it.

(b) That they either have devoted themselves to some act or service and exercise so as to gain their livelihood by it; or possess and cultivate themselves a piece of land of sufficient extent to insure the support of themselves and families; or follow in a town some established business to a certain extent; or possess in a town real property of the value of at least 2,000 dollars; or by patriotic actions have deserved well of the state.

19. Those who furnish such proof are to receive letters of naturalisation from the government of the circle in which they reside.

20. Jews though naturalised may settle in the towns and country in the province, acquire real property of all kinds and follow all allowed professions excepting the recruit money (§ 14); they are not bound to any distinct contributions to the public treasury in the chambers, but are bound to perform all the obligations incumbent on the Christians towards the state and the commune in which they reside (except as in section 14, relative to the military service). With the exception of the special regulations established by the laws on account of the difference of religion, such as the taking of oaths, the presentation of bills of exchange on Sabbaths and

holidays, they are subject in all their civil and private relations to the same general laws as the Christian inhabitants.

The following sections to 24 relate to those Jewish inhabitants who are not yet qualified to obtain naturalisation.

25. All Jews not yet naturalised, but who are to be tolerated and furnished with certificates, are further subject to the following regulations:—

(a) They are not to be permitted to contract marriages till they have completed their 24th year, unless the chief president, in particular cases, grants a dispensation.

(b) They shall reside only in towns (with the exception stated under d), but not to be confined to what have been hitherto assigned as the Jewish quarters. They are not qualified to obtain the rights of citizens.

(c) They are excluded from trading with the privileges of merchants. They cannot keep public-houses, except with special permission. They are wholly prohibited from itinerant buying and selling. They are free to follow all other stationary trades under the general regulations.

(d) Such Jews are not allowed to reside in the country, unless they either acquire or rent a farm, and cultivate it themselves; or hire themselves to landowners as servants, or to conduct some particular branch, *e. g.*, as distillers or brewers. They are absolutely prohibited from keeping public-houses in the country.

(e) They are not allowed to have Christian apprentices, journeymen, or servants.

(f) These Jews are not allowed to make loans of money, unless certified by legal documents duly registered, on pain of being null and void.

(g) Claims for debts arising from the sale of intoxicating liquors have no legal validity.

26. To marry, they require a certificate, which they shall receive free of stamp-duty and other charges, when they show that they have either completed their 24th year, or have obtained a dispensation from the chief president;

where the bride is a foreigner, that she has a fortune of 500 rix-dollars, and that they have means, either by following a legal profession, or by the possession of sufficient property, to provide for the subsistence of a family.

27. In all other respects the non-naturalised Jews are to be treated in the same manner as the Christian subjects.

28. The tolerated Jews shall receive letters of naturalisation as soon as they prove their qualifications, according to 18 and 19. Foreign Jews may enter the province, either to travel through it, or to carry on legal mercantile business.

Our magistrates and subjects to conform to these regulations, till the promulgation of a final law, or other ordinances changing the above.

Berlin, June 1.

(L.S.) FREDERICK WILLIAM.

(Countersigned by all the members.)

Berlin, 9. July

ALTHORP'S PAPER PROJECT.

I BESEECH the readers of the *Register* to read the following **LITTLE DEDICATION AND INTRODUCTION**. He will then see whether it is worth his while to read further, in order to convince him of the madness, as well as of something worse, of the paper-money project, which Lord ALTHORP has now proposed to this "reformed" House of Commons. I need say no more upon the subject, at present, than to desire him to read these papers.

THE CURSE OF PAPER-MONEY AND BANKING; or, a short History of Banking in the United States of America, with an account of its ruinous effects on Landowners, Farmers, Traders, and all the industrious classes of the community. By WM. M. GOUGE, of Philadelphia, 1833.—To which is prefixed, An Introduction, by WM. COBBETT, M.P. for Oldham.—Price 4s.

DEDICATION.

TO THE

RIGHT HON. CHARLES MANNERS SUTTON,

Speaker of the House of Commons.

SIR, — To you, who were present when the famous Bullion Committee, consisting of Messrs. HORNER, HUSKISSON, CANNING, and others, in the year 1810, in the midst of war and of loans, recommended to the House to pass a law to compel the Bank to pay in gold at the end of two years from that time: to you, who, in 1811, were present when Mr. VANSITTART proposed to the House, and the House adopted, a solemn resolution, that a one-pound note and a shilling were equal in value to a guinea, and that the people regarded them as such, and who, in a few days afterwards, heard the same Mr. VANSITTART propose, and saw that same House pass, a law to *punish* men, if they *gave more* than a one-pound note and a shilling for a guinea; to you, who were present at all the renewings and postponings relative to the Bank-restriction, between the years 1814 and 1819; to you, who, in 1819, were in that same chair in which you now sit, when Mr. PEEL'S BILL, providing for a return to cash-payments in 1823, was passed, and when the assertion, "*that that bill would set the question at rest for ever,*" was received with a shout of triumph, which made the roof of the chapel of the *Jew-murdered* St. STEPHEN ring; to you, on whom was imposed the task of congratulating the Regent on this singular instance of the wisdom, the industry, the zeal, and the matchless public virtue of the House; to you, who, in less than thirty-six months from that day, saw that same House send up to that same Regent

(then become King) a bill to put a stop to the operation of the wondrous work of wisdom of 1819; to you, who, in 1824, heard Mr. ROBINSON, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, boast of the matchless prosperity produced by the paper-money wisdom of the House, and assert that the House stood in need of no reforming; to you, who, in July, 1825, heard the King declare to the two Houses, that "all the great interests of the country were in a *state of greater prosperity than at any former period*;" to you, who, in less than seven months from that day, saw a hundred banks blown up, and heard Mr. HUSKISSON declare, that, at one time, the country had been within forty-eight hours of barter; to you, who, in 1826, saw laws passed to suppress one-pound notes in England, and leave them in Ireland and Scotland, and who saw the House receive, and laugh at, a petition from me, foretelling the embarrassment, distress, ruin, and misery, which those measures would produce, if not accompanied by a vast reduction of taxation; to you, who, at this moment, see sitting, and have summoned witnesses to come before, committees to inquire into agricultural distress, commercial distress, manufacturing distress, and who have put the question, during this present session, on the receiving of thousands of petitions complaining of distress, and of misery approaching to starvation; to you, who have been a witness of all this, and whose hard lot it has been to behold more blundering and to hear more noise and more nonsense than any other man that ever lived, and who, as a suitable climax to the whole, have now had to put the question upon a proposition to make an everlastingly depreciated paper, to give the King a partner in his prerogative of

making money for his people, and to let loose upon that people, the ever-stretched and never-filled grasp of the usurer; to you, Sir, I take the liberty to dedicate this book, exhibiting the "CURSE OF PAPER-MONEY" in full glare, and calling upon every man of sense and every lover of his country, to do his best to strangle the monster, before it shall have produced in England those disgraceful and ruinous effects which it is here shown to have produced in America.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient

and most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

INTRODUCTION.

THE following history is the work of an apparently exceedingly dull and awkward man: the arrangement of the matter is as confused as it can well be made; the statement of facts is feeble, and there is as little of clearness as can well be imagined, in any thing coming from the pen of a being in its senses. There was a "FIRST PART," consisting of the moral and philosophical and economical lucubrations of the author; but I am very sure that, if my reader could see these, he would thank me for leaving them out, especially as the omission is attended with a deduction from the price of the book; to say the truth, Mr. Gouge (who ought to have had an *r* at the end of his name) will thank me, too, if he have common gratitude and a common degree of regard for his literary reputation; for, this first part really consists of nothing but matter which he has extracted from other writers, and which he has disfigured and disgraced by the uncouth and confused manner in which he has transferred them from other books to his own. For which reason, I suppose it was, that my correspondent at New York, in transmitting me the book, told me the author ought to be called "Gouger;" that is

to say, a fellow, who twists the hair on your temples round his middle-fingers, and, poking his thumb-nails under the inner corner of your eyes, turns your two organs of vision out upon your cheeks. The dishonesty and acts of violence committed by Mr. Gouge do really, in the literary way, come up to this act of foul-fighting, so much in practice in the southern part of the United States.

However, notwithstanding all this, Mr. Gouge has put together a collection of facts, respecting the iniquity and the mischiefs of paper-money and banking, quite enough to frighten any man, who knew America before that infernal system was in vogue, and who now beholds that which is about to be done in England. I, who knew America forty years ago, and who took little notice of what was passing when I was there in 1818 and 1819; who have, in fact, known nothing of it in this respect, and in any thing like detail, since the year 1799, am filled with astonishment as I read.

The history of Mr. Gouge begins with the old bank of the United States, which was established just after the establishment of the federal constitution; that is to say, about the year 1790; and it carries on the history of banking up to the present time. Mr. Gouge's reflections are of little or no value; but his facts are of the greatest possible importance. They consist of accounts of the effects produced by paper-money; of facts which must be notorious at Philadelphia, and above all things this collection is valuable, as it gives us extracts from public documents; it gives us the opinions of eminent men in the Congress and in the state legislatures; and, more valuable than all the rest, it gives us extracts from the reports of committees of the Senates and Houses of Representatives of the states; it gives an account of the representations coming from counties; of the ruin brought upon farmers and others by this monstrous system; it gives us an account of thousands and thousands of men thrown out of work by it; it shows us the desperate measures which

the different legislatures were compelled to resort to, in order to prevent the utter ruin of whole classes of the people; it shows us what a prodigious increase of crime, increase of pauperism; and what will make my readers jump from their seats, what numbers of INCENDIARIES, have been produced by this paper-money. In this respect, as a collection of facts, this work of Mr. Gouge is invaluable. I beg the reader to look at Chapter 7, and there to read extracts from a report from a committee of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania; and especially to look at an extract (contained in that report) from a petition of the inhabitants of Huntingdon county. I remember that county, when there was not a poor person in it! Only think, of farms being sold by the sheriff in execution, and not fetching as much money as to pay the fees of the law-officers!

In the states of Tennessee, Kentucky, and other states, the reader will find laws passed to suspend the payment of debts, and forbidding the issuing of executions in judgment for two years, unless the plaintiff will consent to receive payment in a depreciated paper. In other states he will find laws passed to prohibit the buying and selling of notes, and, in short, he will find, in this compilation and narrative, proof to satisfy him, that of all the instruments of mischief that the devil ever invented, nothing ever was equal to paper-money. The wisest men in America, the persons most famed for their skill, experience, and political integrity, have always been alarmed, and those of them living are now more alarmed than ever, at the power and the progress of the power of this "*aristocracy of money*." In a report of the committee of the legislature of New York in 1818, we find these memorable words:—

"Of all *aristocracies*, none more completely enslave a people than that of money; and in the opinion of your committee, no system was ever better devised so perfectly to enslave a community, as that of the present mode of conducting banking establishments. Like the Syren of the

fable, they entice to destroy. They hold the purse-strings of society; and by monopolising the whole of the circulating medium of the country, they form a precarious standard, by which all property in the country, houses, lands, debts, and credits, personal and real estate of all descriptions, are valued: thus rendering the whole community dependent on them; proscribing every man who dares to expose their unlawful practices: if he happens to be out of their reach, so as to require no favours from them, his friends are made the victims. So no one dares complain.

"The committee, on taking a general view of our State, and comparing those parts where banks have been for some time established, with those that have none, are astonished at the alarming disparity. They see, in the one case, the desolations they have made in societies that were before prosperous and happy; the ruin they have brought on an immense number of the most wealthy farmers, and they and their families suddenly hurled from wealth and independence into the abyss of ruin and despair.

"If the facts stated in the foregoing be true, and your committee have no doubt they are, together with others equally reprehensible and to be dreaded, such as that their influence too frequently, nay, often already begins to assume a species of dictation altogether alarming, and unless some judicious remedy is provided by legislative wisdom, we shall soon witness attempts to control all selections to offices in our counties, nay the elections to the very legislature. Senators and members of Assembly will be indebted to the banks for their seats in this capitol, and thus the wise end of our civil institutions will be prostrated in the dust of corporations of their own raising."

Such is a general description of the consequences of the use of paper-money. The particular effects are quite astounding, and will be almost incredible when the reader comes to them; particularly if that reader knew the country forty

years ago. He will know the street which they call *Market-street*, in PHILADELPHIA; he will remember the beautiful houses in that street. If he knew me there, as Mr. ALEXANDER BARRING did, he will know that I rented not a very capital house, and not quite in that great street of all, and that I paid *fourteen hundred dollars* a-year in hard silver, as rent for that house; that is to say *three hundred and fifteen pounds* sterling, taking the dollar at 4s. 6d. If the reader have not been there recently, I have to tell him, that, in the said *Market-street*, which is (I think) about a hundred and twenty feet wide, which is probably three miles long from the bank of the Delaware to the bank of the Schuylkill, which has in it a market-house half a mile long and the most beautiful in this whole world, which has sometimes five hundred wagons with five horses each standing along the middle of it; I have to tell the reader, that, in this *Market-street*, where very few houses used to let for less than *a thousand dollars a year each*; that, in this very street, in 1822, houses of *four stories*, with marble-steps and copper-spouts, were, in great numbers, SOLD FOR A DOLLAR A PIECE! Nay, my friend Mr. CROFT, at MANCHESTER, told me, that he was offered several houses in that street for one single bottle of wine.

This would seem to be romance; but the reader will observe, that these houses stood charged with a *ground rent*, or as they call it in Lancashire, a *chief rent*, which, probably, might amount to a fourth, or fifth part of the usual rental; and, so terrible had been the effects of the paper-money, that, at the time I am speaking of, the houses would not let for the ground-rent, nor anything like it. One of these houses had cost from ten to twenty thousand dollars in the building. Judge of the ruin of families occasioned by this change in the value of money; and, with this spectacle before you, resort to the use of paper-money, if you can. The inferior streets of this city had always been formed of houses erected principally by the savings of

mechanics and tradesmen of various descriptions, who built the houses charged with the ground-rent, and whose *all* consisted of these houses. Hundreds of old people, of widows, of fatherless children, who were wholly dependent upon this species of property, were reduced to utter ruin and beggary; and that city, which I knew with sixty thousand souls in it, without a single beggar, or a single person whom you could properly call a pauper, became a scene of beggary and of pauperism; having all the signs of misery, such as we behold in our great towns; and quite horrible to relate, *crime*, which was scarcely heard of at the time when I lived there, had so increased, that, there were three or four thousand commitments annually in PHILADELPHIA alone; while at one time, last winter, there were upwards of sixteen hundred poor persons in the poor-house, with many many more receiving out-door relief; and this Mr. GOUGE tells us, that, in some years, the expenditure on account of the poor of Philadelphia, now exceeds the expenditure on the same account at LIVERPOOL.

These are the effects of paper-money alone, without the aid of taxation. There required a country like this, an untaxed country, to show what paper-money can do; how effectually and how swiftly, it can destroy the happiness of a people. When I lived in PHILADELPHIA, it was extremely difficult to get any woman to work for you, either at the needle or at house work. The servant-maids would hire only by the week. In hard money, the latter used to get two dollars a week, besides their board and lodging, and a woman who was employed by the day, had a dollar a day and her board. There are now, Mr. GOUGE says, "some thousands of women, in PHILADELPHIA alone, who cannot earn, on an average, a dollar a week each," and he describes them as the victims of paper-money, which has drawn the wealth of the country into a few hands, and brought the middle class down to the lower. If this picture be shocking to my readers in general, what must it

be to me, who saw the country in a state so very different ! At any rate, the *feelosofers* may take this as a proof that it is not the poor-laws that make misery ; and, let every Englishman well observe, that paper-money alone, and without the assistance of taxation, can produce these horrible revolutions in society.

But, is it really the paper-money that has done these things ? Is it really the paper-money ; or is it some other cause ? The brutal MALTHUSIANS will say, that these evils have been produced even in America, by the Act of the 43. of Elizabeth. Ah ! the following book will show, that it has been produced by paper-money, and by paper-money alone ; that it has been produced by four hundred banks ; by legal tenders ; by bank restrictions ; by chartered companies of paper-money makers. All these have arisen out of a violation of the constitution of the United States, precisely like that violation of our constitution which is now recommended to the House of Commons by Lord ALTHORP. The foundation of the ruin was, a charter granted by the Government of the United States to certain persons to establish a Bank, which was to be called the Bank of the United States, and which was established in the year 1790 ; and this *that Government had no right to do*. Before I proceed further, however, I must give a short account of the division of the country as to matters of Government ; for, without this, the reader will not clearly understand the contents of the following book, in which he will find the proceedings of different states, with regard to paper-money, differing very widely from the proceedings of other states : some with legal tender ; others with no legal tender ; some with paper depreciated down to the tenth of the value of silver ; others with scarcely any depreciation at all ; some with farmers stripped of their farms, and tradesmen even of their household goods, by the speculators in paper-money ; and others passing laws to compel the lenders to take in payment only a certain portion of the no-

minimal amount of debts due to them. For the reader to understand this matter clearly, he must see how the country is divided with regard to the powers of governing ; and this I will now endeavour to explain to him.

Each state has a government of its own, with a governor as chief magistrate, and two houses of legislature, called the Senate and House of Representatives. This Government suffers no interference in its municipal or political concerns : it does what it pleases with regard to the qualifications of electors, for instance ; with regard to punishments for different crimes ; with regard, in short, to all its internal affairs ; but the Government of the United States, which is sometimes called the General Government, or the Federal Government, has the sole power of making war, making peace, making treaties, punishing offences on the high seas, regulating every thing relative to external commerce, and the sole power also of *making money for the whole country*. The article of the constitution giving Congress this power is in these words : " The Congress shall have power to coin money, to regulate the value thereof and of foreign coin."

The separate states made a complete surrender of this description of power ; and these separate states were also forbidden to issue bills of credit, or paper-money ; that is to say, were forbidden to issue it as a Government paper. Now we come to the root of all this evil. At the end of the " rebel-war," as I call it, and of the " glorious revolutionary war," as it is called by Mr. MACAULEY, Lord JOHN RUSSELL, and Mr. STANLEY, there were great numbers of persons, principally soldiers who had served in the war, who received in payments for their services, CERTIFICATES, as they were called, guaranteeing to them the payment, in certain times more or less distant. The *certificates* became articles of traffic : the needy sold, and the rich bought ; so that from the hands of thousands they soon got into the hands of hundreds ; and these hundreds, with the aid of a Scotch projector of the name of HAMILTON, following the ex-

ample of his countryman LAW in France, and of his countryman BURNETT in England, hatched a Bank and a funding system; and the poor soldier who had sold his certificate for a dollar, soon saw his country paying an interest of six dollars a year to the speculator who had purchased it from him. Here was the foundation of that ruin which the reader of this book is going to behold: here is the foundation of that damned "ARISTOCRACY OF MONEY," against which all the legislative assemblies are now crying aloud; and to stand by the President while he puts down which, the *young men* of the country are now enrolling themselves in associations.

There was no such thing as effecting this job without a bank. Mr. JEFFERSON, Mr. MADDISON, and many others, contended, that the Government of the United States was not empowered by the constitution to establish, or permit, such a thing as a bank: they said, that the Congress had the rightful power to coin money, and to fix its value, just upon the same principle that the King of England had; but that it had no power to make money other than by coining; that it had no power to tolerate the circulation of paper instead of money; but that, at any rate, it had no power to *delegate* the making of money of any sort to any body but itself. The argument was all on the democratic side; but HAMILTON, who was a very brave man, who had been WASHINGTON's aid-de-camp during the rebellion, was all powerful with WASHINGTON, the gratitude of the people, unhappily in this case, made WASHINGTON too powerful with them: the speculators prevailed, the constitution was violated, and the infernal system of funding and paper-money came and made good those words of old Lord CHATHAM, with which this book commences: "Let the Americans adopt a funding system, and go into banking institutions, and their boasted independence will be a mere phantom." The reader will see what a struggle there was to get this thing accomplished; and he will also see that the insti-

tutions of America are now struggling as it were for their lives against this iniquitous system.

The federal government having broken the constitution, the state governments immediately began to break theirs. They were forbidden to coin money, and to issue paper-money themselves; but the federal government having found out, that they had the power of delegating the making of paper-money to a bank, the state governments lost no time in profiting from the example; and the book which I here present to the public, will show how they have gone on, in the several states, destroying the people, stripping farmers of their farms, merchants of their ships, tradesmen of their stocks and household goods, artisans of their houses, their workshops and their very tools; hundreds of thousands of working families of the means of getting bread. And, the reader will find this stated, not by the "race that write"; not by paragraph grinders and book-makers; but in the *reports of committees of legislative assemblies*. Let the reader look into this book, and see the report of a committee of the House of Representatives of the state of Pennsylvania. Let him, in that report, read the descriptions of the state of the counties of Northumberland and Huntingdon; let him there read of property in immense quantities sold for less than was sufficient to pay the fees of the law-officers; and of wives and children becoming a burden on the township, to prevent them from suffering from the want of the mere necessities of life; let him read these things, and then let him receive from me the assurance, that I knew those two counties when such a thing as *want*, in the usual acceptance of the word, had never been heard of in them; and when no man had ever heard of a person being a burden upon a township, except, perchance, here and there a free negro. These are thy works, O hellish paper-money!

In other states, in order to prevent the paper-money people from taking away the whole of the farms and of all other property, laws have been passed, as the reader will see, to prevent property from

being sold for less than a certain amount to be fixed by appraisers. In another state he will find, that what were called "stop-laws," were passed, compelling the creditor to take the depreciated paper, or to wait for better times. In another state, he will find a law to protect the debtor against the mortgagee or other creditor for two years, or to take payment in the depreciated paper; and that it has been recently proposed to the legislature of the state of TENNESSEE to pass a law, "that no one shall be bound for the debt or default of another, by writing or otherwise"; that is to say, that no one should be bound as security for another, in any case, by word, bond, note, or indorsement, for any ordinary contract between man and man, such law being absolutely necessary to prevent wives and children from being brought to beggary by the art of the speculators practised on husbands and fathers; which, I think, caps the climax of the feats of the damnable paper-money. If these Americans had read my book, called "PAPER AGAINST GOLD," which I wrote twenty-three years ago, when I was in a felon's jail for two years, with a fine of a thousand pounds upon my head, and seven years bonds to be held in, for having expressed my indignation at the flogging of English local militiamen, in the heart of England, under a guard of German bayonets; if the Americans had read this book, they never would have been brought to the ruin in which the paper-money has plunged them.

I now leave the book to the perusal and serious attention of every man in England, and particularly to those of every young man; and, if it do not excite a general horror at the thought of establishing a legal tender-paper by violating the constitution of England and taking the King's great prerogative from him without his consent; if it have not this effect, then experience of evil is no longer of any use amongst mankind, no longer an inducement to seek for that which is good. The fate of the American political institutions; that is to say, the existence of the liberties of that country, depends upon the

result of the struggle now going against the "aristocracy of money," which this monstrous system has created, assisted by a repeal of usury laws; but of which monsters, legal-tender, and freedom for usury, it is now proposed to establish in England.

WM. COBBETT.

Westminster, 14. July, 1833.

RAGE OF THE BROUGHAMS

I HAVE received some printed copies of the following, which comes, the reader will see, from KENDAL, in Westmoreland, where, as he will see, I have by my letters in the "*True Sun*" (which are in the present *Register*), shot in the "BIRD'S NEST," and brought out the kites, to endeavour, with beak and talons, to tear my eyes out. I shall insert this *Bird's-Nest* article, which has been published at KENDAL, and circulated over Westmoreland; and, when my readers have read my two letters in the "*True Sun*," they will know what the state of the perfidious Whigs is, up to this week.

LOCAL COURTS BILL.

To the Proprietors of the *Westmoreland Gazette* and to William Cobbett.

" 'Oh, generation of vipers, who hath warned ye to flee from the wrath to come?' What hath caused you proprietors of the *Westmoreland Gazette*, to consider yourselves safe and secure under the immediate patronage and protection of William Cobbett? Shall I address you, gentlemen, in that language, or, rather, shall I not say unto you, 'How long, ye simple ones, will ye love simplicity, and ye fools, hate knowledge?' What! will it be believed that the proprietors of the *Gazette* have circulated a paper—mere piece of buffoonery and humbug—under the signature of 'William Cobbett,' copied by them out of that unprincipled journal, the '*True Sun*—that base and revolutionary publication of which Cobbett is proprietor? Will this be believed

"their partisans, or by the public?
 "and, moreover, they have designed
 "this publication, a popular London
 "journal. They have permitted, and
 "most likely ordered Tyras Redhead to
 "appear in print under the signature,
 "William Cobbett.' And who is
 "Tyras Redhead? Why, the agent of
 "the proprietors! And who are the
 "proprietors? Rank Tories!—a part of
 "the close corporation of Kendal!
 "The old dispensation are proprietors
 "—those individuals who pride themselves
 "on not being *political*, in not
 "mixing themselves with *political* and
 "*religious* controversies—those persons
 "who deny that parties and
 "politics form any part of their *im-*
 "*maculate* construction. What was
 "Henry Hunt? A professed Radical!
 "and I am proud to be called a
 "Radical; yet, I rejoiced to see Hunt
 "expelled from the legislative assembly.
 "And why, because he was a worthless
 "fellow, a time-serving demagogue.
 "He truckled to the Tories—he sought
 "to build himself a house upon that
 "foundation which was tottering to the
 "ground—he sought to establish himself
 "in the way of *getting money* amongst
 "a class of oligarchical, factious,
 "despotic tyrants, and on this account
 "he was rejected by the honest men
 "of Preston, and is now sent to *Coven-*
 "*try*—by the political world. But
 "what said the Tories of Kendal,
 "when they had ascertained his fate?
 "Why, that *they had requested* him to
 "stand as a candidate for this borough!
 "Then, I ask, what will become of
 "William Cobbett, the '*time-server*,'
 "at the next election for Oldham?
 "Will the people have him again? No,
 "He *now* says, 'I will not sweep
 "away the House of Lords!' He says,
 "I agree with *my* Lord Eldon!!' and
 "he repeats. But did he say so
 "before he was member for Oldham?
 "No, he, indeed!! If he had, he
 "never would have been member for
 "Oldham. He professed to be a re-
 "former, in favour of liberal Govern-
 "ment, and in fact an approver of
 "aristocracy, and he has now the auda-
 "ciousness to rejoice at the defeat of the

"Local Courts Bill, and to say that he
 "would have voted against the Irish
 "Church Bill if he had been in the
 "House. Oh, the fool! We judge of
 "men by their actions, and by the
 "company they keep, and when they
 "lift up their voices against every
 "reform we call them Tories, when
 "Cobbett says 'I agree with Lord
 "Eldon,' with one breath, and with the
 "next 'I want a democratical Govern-
 "ment,' I say he is a —! Believe
 "him not, electors of Oldham! cast
 "him off!! he is a wolf in sheep's
 "clothing!!!! But notwithstanding
 "this, he seems to be the pet of the
 "*Gazette* proprietors, part of whom
 "are corporators of Kendal, Tories,
 "and strenuous supporters of the
 "Lowthers; aye, and William Cobbett
 "is a Tory, he wants a place amongst
 "them; and when the Tories have got
 "into power again, when they have
 "established a *standing army* to rule
 "over us, and muzzled William Cob-
 "bett with a *pension*, then they will
 "renew their system of plunder; and I
 "fear if this should occur, a reformed
 "Parliament cannot frustrate their evil
 "designs. But will the Tories, will
 "the corporation, will the *Gazette*
 "proprietors, the tools of my Lord
 "Lonsdale, dare to bring William Cob-
 "bett here, when he is rejected at
 "Oldham? Is their adoption of his letter,
 "a sign that he is to be adopted? No,
 "no! they know the people of Kendal
 "too well; they have already discarded
 "one castaway, of a little more im-
 "portance than William Cobbett,
 "though equally a time-server, and
 "they will as readily reject Cobbett or
 "any other man selected by the bigoted,
 "tyrannical crew. The people of
 "Kendal are aware of the value and
 "importance of the measure which has
 "been rejected by the Tory aristocracy,
 "every tradesman knows the difficulty
 "of obtaining his money from obsti-
 "nate and knavish debtors, and every
 "tradesman feels the want of Lord
 "Brougham's bill. And here let me
 "recur to the language of Cobbett: he
 "says, 'As things now stand, a cruel
 "creditor cannot bring his action for

" 'such a sum' (meaning a debt under
 " 20*l.*) 'without *losing more than the*
 " *sum itself*, but this (the bill) would
 " enable such creditor, by the use of
 " cheap law, to strip the poor man of
 " 'his shirt,' &c. Oh the vagabond!
 " Then a man is to be at liberty to get
 " into debt, but it seems to be a crime
 " for a creditor to ask for his own again.
 " This may be a creed suitable enough
 " for Wm. Cobbett, but probably Sir
 " Francis Burdett may have reason to
 " complain of the system. Every honest
 " man who purchases goods on credit,
 " does so with the intention of paying
 " for them, and if there was a law to
 " enforce the payment (but now accord-
 " ing to his own showing there is not)
 " then poor families would live more reg-
 " ularly. We should have no drink-
 " ing one week, and running into debt
 " the next, to support a half-starving
 " family. Besides all this, stupid Wil-
 " liam, thine is the method for making
 " poor men. How many hundreds of
 " unprincipled vagabonds, having the
 " appearance of men of property, and
 " actually being men of property, get
 " into debt, and then avoid payment in
 " consequence of the expense of law;
 " thus not unfrequently ruining some
 " honest tradesmen. Wm. Cobbett and
 " the Tories may rail as they will, but the
 " people of England are at any moment
 " ready to fight side by side for Lord
 " Brougham, in *whose glorious and efful-*
 " *gent rays* such simplicity and weakness
 " such absolute imbecility as that dis-
 " played by Cobbett, and the simpletons
 " who copied his double-faced dema-
 " gogue-like epistle, must retire into
 " the shade and be obscured in their
 " own utter insignificance. And now,
 " oh ye honest men of Kendal, permit
 " me to request that you will contem-
 " plate the character of the greatest
 " man in Europe—the Chancellor of
 " England. Conceive that you hear
 " him speaking to the House of Lords
 " in the following proverbs:

" 'They would none of my counsel,
 " 'they despised all my reproof—there-
 " 'fore shall they eat of the fruit of
 " 'their own way and be filled with
 " 'their own devices.'

" 'For the turning away of the sim-
 " 'ple shall *slay* them, and the pro-
 " 'perity of fools shall *destroy* them.'

" 'But whoso hearkeneth unto me
 " 'shall dwell safely, and shall be quiet
 " 'from fear of evil.'

" *Woe* to those factious, self-witted
 " unprincipled characters, who have
 " dashed the cup from our lips and dis-
 " appointed us—for a season; and now
 " to those who now rejoice in our tem-
 " porary defeat.

" A FRIEND TO THE PEOPLE."

COTTAGE MANUFACTURES.

(From the *True Sun* of the 18. inst.)

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TRUE SUN

SIR,—Amongst these the making of
 straw-bonnets and hats is one of the
 most useful and important. The mate-
 rial for this manufacture, prepared ac-
 cording to the directions given in *Cob-*
bett's Cottage Economy, is as superior
 in toughness and in beauty to straw cut
 when it is ripe, as silk is to cheap calico.
 We fear that for our friends in the
 southern counties our information comes
 rather too late: not a moment must be
 lost. The wheat is to be cut close to
 the ground about one week after the
 bloom has dropped, that is, just as the
 grain is beginning to be formed in the
 ear, and the lower part of the straw has
 begun to change its colour. It is then
 to be tied up in little sheaves with two
 pieces of string, one near the bulb, and
 the other about half-way up; this little
 bundle ought to be six inches through at
 the bulb, and no more; it ought not to
 be tied too tightly, lest the scalding
 should not be perfect. Place them in
 a large tub or vat, not in too large a
 quantity at a time, lest the water should
 get cooled; for upon the perfect scald-
 ing very much of the goodness of the
 material depends, and therefore the
 surest way to effect this is, after the
 bundles of straw have been carefully
 laid in the vat, and a few boards with
 bricks or weight of some kind laid upon
 them (for they would otherwise float on
 the surface), pour in as much scalding

water as will reach the whole of the straw; having done so, let that run off immediately, turning in as much more as will cover the straw a foot above the upper sheaves. In this state they are to remain for a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes, then take them out with a 'prong, and carry them carefully to the ground where they are to be bleached, which ought to be short grass. Here the sheaves are to be untied and the straw laid along in rows, as thin as they can be; if it were possible, no straw ought to have another lying upon it or across it. It must lie twenty-four hours thus, and then be turned over; each side ought to have twelve hours of clear sunshine; if the sun be not very clear they must remain longer. After this they are again to be tied up in convenient bundles, and (being then roughly dry) be bound for use. For the rest we must refer our readers to the book already mentioned. The above is all that is necessary for the immediate acquisition of the material.

Country Editors will do a public service by copying this.—I am, Sir,

A FRIEND TO HOME MANUFACTURES.

July 16, 1833.

"BEST POSSIBLE" CHRONICLES OF CONSISTENCY.

(From Cobbett's Magazine.)

The *first* duty of one who has the press at his command, is, to act honestly himself; his *next* duty is, to detect and expose dishonesty in others. The public writer who acts up to this, may indeed be called "*the best possible public instructor*," and be justly ranked amongst the benefactors of mankind. Those who have been constant and attentive readers of the daily press, will be inclined to agree, that the opposite of these have been its characteristics. This may, by some good-natured people, be called harsh censure; but let such read the characters the papers give of each other; let them weigh attentively the evidence they adduce of each other's villany when they fall out, as in the case of the

Times and the *Courier* some time ago, and they will, we are persuaded, immediately agree with us. These papers do, indeed, make common cause against any one that does not belong to their *body*, just as the two factions, whom they represent, make common cause against any one who may manifest a dislike to the system by which they all thrive. With them it is a sort of family quarrel: they call each other by the ugliest names, but woe to the unlucky wight who shall venture to tell each that his description of the other is a correct one!

But there is *one* paper which has, in some degree, maintained a character for honesty and consistency superior to that of its compeers. It has, indeed, been a little *crotchety* on some subjects; as, the treatment of the poor, the currency, and the like; but still many people have thought it honest: and its bold advocacy of the Reform Bill experienced very general approbation. No real reformer ever put confidence in the *Times*: its services were acknowledged when they happened to be exerted in the just cause, upon the same principle (as Major CARTWRIGHT used to say) that we reward, when they deserve it, the most abandoned characters when they fight our battles by sea or land. But the *CHRONICLE* has stood, in the estimation of the public, in a very different light; and it may not be without use to show, by extracts from its own columns, how far it is entitled to the respect and confidence of the people. We shall begin with an extract from the *Chronicle* of the 10. July, 1829.

"We are not anxious that parliamentary reform should be *too much accelerated*. We mean, by parliamentary reform, not a mere transference of the franchise from one or two corrupt boroughs to Birmingham, Manchester, and a few more large towns, but such a reform as would afford *protection to the people*. The people of England have, of late years, made considerable advances in improvement; and we do not doubt that the progress of improvement will here-

"after be greatly accelerated. The
 "hope of England is the number of
 "towns which facilitate the circu-
 "lation of knowledge among the
 "people. Each town is a centre from
 "which the rays of knowledge spread
 "in all directions. If the people of
 "England are yet too generally ill-
 "educated and grossly ignorant and pre-
 "judiced, it is to be recollected, that our
 "civilization is recent, that our towns
 "are of yesterday's date, and that the
 "character of a people can only be
 "changed with time. * * * * * If a
 "parliamentary reform of a searching
 "kind could be effected without vio-
 "lence, the ignorance of a very great
 "proportion of the people (and after the
 "late beastly exhibitions, no man
 "would think of questioning it) might
 "be productive of little injury; because,
 "though a man may himself be un-
 "able to arrive at correct conclusions
 "with respect to political questions, he
 "may err less as to the men deserving
 "of confidence. But a parliamentary
 "reform in this country (*superseding as*
 "*it would to a certainty, the House of*
 "*Lords*, or reducing it to an echo of
 "the democratic house; whereas the
 "democratic house is at present the
 "creature of the aristocratic) will never
 "be effected without commotion: and
 "we should exceedingly dread the
 "letting loose the population of Eng-
 "land, in their present state of igno-
 "rance."

Within a year and a half after this passage was published in the *Chronicle*, the "ignorant" and "beastly" people of England drove from his post of Prime Minister, the "foremost man of all this" aristocracy; not for calling them *ill-educated, grossly ignorant, beastly, and prejudiced*, as the *Chronicle* had done, but for merely proclaiming that no reform was necessary, and that none should take place while he held his position of Premier. And what did the *Chronicle* do upon this occasion? Did it commend the Duke for his manly declaration, and support him in his resistance to the demands of the people? No such thing! The *Chronicle* now became one of the loudest in the cry for

reform; and, as we shall presently see, held language that would not have been suffered with impunity in any paper not connected with one of the factions. When the people began to doubt the sincerity of the Whigs, and, in consequence of that doubting, to relax a little in their zeal, the *Chronicle* became alarmed, and thought it necessary to stimulate them to fresh exertions. "So far," said the *Chronicle* (1. May, 1832), "from dreading a disposition to incessant changes, we are rather inclined to dread the *apathy of the people*." No fear was now felt by the *Chronicle* of the consequences of "letting loose" the ignorant population. On the contrary, they were now become so enlightened, the towns had to spread their "rays of knowledge," that the "population" had become, in the opinion of the *Chronicle*, superior in knowledge and honesty to the higher orders themselves: for whilst the *Chronicle* urged the people to a direct interference in the affairs of Government, it represented (28. May, 1832) "the majority of the Peers as either the most contemptible of men in point of information, or the most worthless in point of principle." Yes! this is the *Chronicle's* description of that body, which the same paper, in July, 1829, wished to continue in the possession of an uncontrolled power over the lives and properties of the people of England, whom it exceedingly dreaded to set "loose in their present state of ignorance."

Now, however, the "ignorant" people had been "let loose," and it was found necessary to the accomplishment of the views of the Whigs to *set them on*, not only upon the Tories, but upon the system. "The Ministers," says the *Chronicle* (5. June, 1832), "have hitherto acted with supreme folly and blindness in not exposing fairly to the country the bed of roses to which they succeeded in every branch of our affairs, in every department of the administration." A few days after this (26. June, 1832), the *Chronicle* again burst out in the following strain:—"We wish Lord Grey had *taken stock* when he accepted office. He

“ should have come down to the House
 “ of Peers with a plain *expose* of the state
 “ of the country, and of the Augean
 “ stable of corruption. He should have
 “ drawn out a Dr. and a Cr. account.
 “ There was the *debt*; the *Bank*
 “ *claims*; the *Colonial system*, worn
 “ out and decaying for want of bold
 “ repairs; *Municipal* institutions can-
 “ kered with time and grown out of
 “ fashion; the *East India monopoly*;
 “ *Laws* in confused heaps; the *Penal*
 “ *Code* written in letters of blood; *Cor-*
 “ *porations* close, corrupt, and detest-
 “ ed; the *Church* for centuries unre-
 “ formed; *Trade and Commerce* awfully
 “ depressed, and burdened with an over-
 “ whelming taxation; the ancient and
 “ salutary amusements of the people
 “ terminated; *Swing* nightly illumi-
 “ nating the country; the people ex-
 “ cited and raving at the refusal by WEL-
 “ LINGTON and PEEL of all reform, great
 “ or small; the House of Peers swamp-
 “ ed by a century of Tory creations; the
 “ House of Commons two-thirds re-
 “ turned by the most corrupt and unpo-
 “ pular means.” This is the *Chronicle*’s
 description of the concern which the
 Whigs were content to take and to carry
 on, not only without making “ a plain
exposé” of its state, but without once
 alluding to that state in such a way as
 to give offence to their predecessors.
 This is the concern which the *Chronicle*,
 in 1829, dreaded to see the “ ignorant
 and beastly people let loose” upon, lest
 they should break it up; and this is the
 concern which the *Chronicle* again be-
 came enamoured of, when it found its
 friends, the Whigs, firmly (as it thought)
 fixed in their places. The motive for
 these changes it is impossible to mis-
 take. When the *Chronicle* was re-
 proaching the Whigs for their “ supreme
 folly and blindness,” it was labouring
 under an apprehension as to the pro-
 bable result of the then coming elec-
 tions. The Whigs, by their yielding to
 the Tories, by clogging their bill with
 the hateful disfranchising clauses, had
 begun to grow unpopular; but the re-
 sult of the elections re-assured the
Chronicle of the permanence of its
 friends’ power; and the *Chronicle* be-

came, to the disgust of the people, one
 of the foremost amongst the eulogists
 and upholders of the men whose “ su-
 preme folly and blindness” the *Chronicle*
 had so justly censured.

If the change of the *Chronicle* had
 been only from bad to good, it might
 have had credit for honesty of intention;
 its abuse of the people in 1829 might
 have been ascribed to ignorance of their
 real character; and, although no ac-
 knowledgment of error was made, the
 strenuous efforts of the *Chronicle* during
 the passing of the Reform Bill seemed
 to prove beyond doubt its sincerity in
 the cause of reform. But the “supreme”
 baseness of its recent conduct; its sup-
 port of the Ministers in their refusal to
 give any practical relief to the people;
 in their refusal to reduce the taxes; in
 their measures of severity towards the
 people; and in their profuse expendi-
 ture of the people’s money: all this
 must convince every man who is not
 “ ill-educated, ignorant, and preju-
 diced”; in short, it must convince the
 nation, unless it be, as the *Times* calls
 it, “ a stupid beast of a nation,” that the
 pretended zeal of the *Chronicle* was no-
 thing more than a part of that system
 of Whig trickery by which its patrons
 contrived to keep their places, and to
 procure the return of that House which
 is now acting as the scourge, instead of
 being the protector, of the people.
From this House, and from this Whig
Ministry, GOOD LORDS, DELIVER
US!

PATRIOTISM; OR, OUR LOVE FOR AND DUTY TO OUR COUNTRY.

No. III.

(From Cobbett’s Magazine.)

If patriotism consisted of nothing
 more than such simple requisites as have
 been specified in our preceding remarks
 under this title, the subject would be so
 easy for all men to understand and to
 agree upon, it would be open to so
 little dispute that we should have had
 no cause for making it a matter of
 further comment. But that *duty* which

we have proposed to discuss is by no means perfectly described by the bare rule, that *we ought to adhere to one country, and, if possible, to one country in preference to all others*. The most important portion of our undertaking remains to be performed. The substance of what we have already contended for is this:—that, in so far as nature is concerned, all men are patriots of necessity; and that, as respects civilized nations, policy requires in a patriot, that he should confine his views of *country* within some local bounds. Men's *feelings*, however, can be ascertained only by their *acts*; and, in pursuing this inquiry, it remains for us to answer the question: what is necessary in a man's conduct, as a subject or citizen of a civilized state, what part should he *act*, to prove him a *patriot*?

It is out of the benefits that we receive from our own country that our attachment to it arises. Those benefits are, as before observed, incalculable in number, and almost beyond all power of definition in the variety of their nature and the influence they have upon our condition. Besides our parentage, family relations, friendships and acquaintance, and those social customs which are in unison with our earliest and fixed habits; besides these, we have advantages in a civil birthright which are extended to us nowhere else; we have protection in the enjoyment of our property, and an assurance of personal security; we have even a provision for our wants, in case of necessity, made out of the substance of our neighbours; we have claims to offices or appointments of power and emolument; we have the means of acquiring titles and distinctions in society as the reward of superior ability and integrity, privileges and honours which it is the interest of nations and individuals to grant and to deserve, but which strangers are not suffered to possess. Many of these benefits, at the least, are indispensable to the happiness of civilized men; and though we may obtain some of them abroad, many of them we cannot, unless it be

by extraordinary accident; and all of them, or those the most valued, we can under no circumstances whatever.

The possession of our share of these is the benefit of *country*. By this benefit we become indebted: we receive an obligation, and that implies a *duty*. Society confers the obligation on us, and to it our duty is owing. Every man is bound to have regard for the good of those who are the source of good to himself, and on whose welfare his own welfare is depending.

For society to exist at all, there must be unity; for there to be unity, there must be obedience to some paramount authority; and, in order to maintain such an authority, society has need of what is called *government*. A government would be of no effect if it had no power to control and enforce. So that it is necessary to give it that power; and to that power each one of us must, for the sake of the whole, be content to submit himself. Society, through its government, has continual demands upon us. To refuse compliance with its demands would be to set the government at defiance; and to defy the government which society has set over us, is to commit the greatest of crimes against our fellow citizens or subjects, because it tends to dissolve that by which they are held united. The government being, then, properly the first authority in the country, the first duty of a *patriot* consists in his submission to the will of the government. The demands which a government is empowered to make upon us, though imperative, are not of an unreasonable, indefinite, or arbitrary kind; because they are made in accordance with express *laws*, which laws are sanctioned by society, and convey to the government the authority it asserts. In obedience to authority so established, it is right that we should not only abstain from what is injurious to the public, but that we should observe what may be of use to it, by deeds. We are called upon to employ our means in maintaining the social state of which we are ourselves a part; and while we are possessed of means available to such a purpose, it is just that we should so de-

vote them as far as we can afford. The support of the government itself, the paying for labour performed in the offices of state, the administration of justice, the providing for the destitute, the carrying on of wars, could not be effected without our contributing, out of our own pockets, to defray the expenses they occasion; nor could we deliberate in choosing councillors or officers, nor they deliberate or fulfil their offices for us, unless a part of the time and trouble of the choosers and the chosen were employed in the service of the public; nor could defence or attack be made on the part of a nation, without our being liable to be called out to exercise our knowledge and skill, without our talents and resolution being brought to aid, without our persons, even at the risk of our lives, being put into activity.

When we say *government*, we mean to include all that power, of whatever it may consist in general or detail, which is made by the will of society to be superior to the will of any minority of its members. We are supposing it, of course, to be a *good* government; a power not in opposition, but agreeable to, the wishes of the people; a power answering, in its operations, to the ends for which it became invested with its authority to act. But it does sometimes happen, that the part of the community which is delegated to execute the commands of *government* commits an abuse of its power, by overstepping its authority; and, whether those holding the power employ it properly or not, it must often happen that laws or public measures affecting the condition or prospects of the people become matters of question; and as upon the settlement of such matters more or less of advantage or mischief to all men must depend, and as they cannot be rightly settled without the concurrence of those who are to be affected, it is a part of the business of each individual to consider them. The necessities of one and all are concerned; private and public interests are depending together; and the well-being of every particular citizen or subject obliges him, to a certain extent,

to look to that of his fellow citizens or subjects. This brings us to *politics*, in the pursuit of which our business consists in promoting our country's good, and in averting its evils or supplying remedies to cure them.

Though there are some of us who never assume the name of "*politician*," and who do not pretend to be deeply acquainted with the *science of government* (as *politics* have been defined) yet we are all citizens or subjects, and belong to some *governed* community; we are all under the order of laws of one kind or another; and we have consequently all a political state of being. This state of being consists in the relative *interests* and *rights* of a nation and of the individuals of which it is composed. If the rights of men were unlimited by laws, every one would claim to have and to do whatever he pleased, according to his own ideas of his own interest. Civil society, however, has ordered it otherwise. But if society did not think of every one, it would not consult its own general advantage. The community being made up of a number of persons, the more the ordering of the whole is beneficial to every one of them, the better must be the condition of all when taken together. And this is universally allowed by the contentedness or discontentedness of nations; that in which the greatest number of persons are well off being considered as the most prosperous, and that in which there is most misery as the most unfortunate nation. The laws of every well-governed nation will, therefore, grant to every one belonging to it as many advantages as possible. They will allow every one to act as much after his own will and judgment, and to gain as much for his particular use, as can be suffered consistently with the safety of others. They will leave him as free as his dependance on the rest will possibly admit. They will confer upon him the benefits we have before mentioned, only balancing his interests and rights along with those of the community, in such a way that neither may suffer from too much being given, or from what is due being denied.

Too much would be given if every one of us were to be let to do as he happened to think best for himself; and if we did not submit to be called upon for anything towards maintaining the civil benefits we enjoy in common with our fellow-subjects or citizens, such a want of submission would throw all that belongs to us into jeopardy. So that the *duty* of a patriot is bound up with his own and his country's *interests* and *rights*; and a man would be wanting in that *duty* if he were not disposed to regard his wealth as in some measure belonging to his country, if he preferred his individual freedom to its security, if he were unwilling to give up a portion of his time and trouble to its need, if he did not lend his personal efficiency, though with danger to himself, when required so to do.

That the rights of the public are to be thought of before the rights of individuals, is a principle in the laws of England (*jura publica anteferenda esse privatis*). But this principle does not war against the just interests of persons; because it is only a part of a set of laws which most studiously respect our interests, both public and private, by defining our rights, and rendering them, as far as possible, secure. It does not set the inclinations of each one at naught; it merely says, that they shall be subordinate to those of all. For, so long as society ordains that a man shall enjoy the *benefits* before mentioned, it is, in fact, not less his duty than his right to *insist upon their preservation*. It is only upon the condition of having these secured to him, that he gives up his original title by the law of nature. And a man is unworthy of what he has a right to, if he will not maintain it: he is unworthy, if he suffer his limbs to be bound, without endeavouring to set himself free; if he receive a blow, without resenting it; if he be robbed, or sustain injury to his property, without seeking redress; if his privileges be wrested from him, without his demanding to have them restored; if he be persecuted by arbitrary power, without making a stand; if his mouth be gagged, when he would fairly state his opinions,

and he do not do all he can to remove the obstacle to his speech. Society has given him his rights; and it is for the interest of all, as well as justice to the individual, that he should take care of them. He is required to do this, both for his own sake and for that of his country. Were he to neglect it, the sacrifice would not be confined to *him* alone: one part, at least, of the whole would have given way; one opening would be made to the lawless invader; society itself, as far as the instance of his wrong might chance to concern it, would be attacked and abandoned to destruction for want of a defence.

We were about to cite the cases of HAMPDEN and others, in proof of the necessity there is for all men who value their country as they ought, and who know what is wanted for its good, to make resistance against the attempts of unwarranted power in whatever form it may present itself. But our general views as to such emergencies are already stated; and the arguments which apply to every case of abuse of public authority are almost too plain to be made more so by illustration.

There is, however, one other thing to claim our attention before we quit the subject of Patriotism: a thing which, by reason, should ever be strictly in accordance with the *Interests* and *Rights* of which we have spoken; but which is, by perversity or by some worse cause, too often made directly to clash with them, and to render the *Duty* of men in [their public capacity a matter of invidious doubt. That thing is, the *Ambition* of a Patriot! and to it we shall return in our next.

FACTORY BILL.

At about one o'clock this morning, the House of Commons divided on the Factory Bill of Lord ASHLEY, and defeated his bill, in fact, by 238 votes against 93. The MILL-OWNERS, as they call them in Yorkshire and Lancashire, thus carried their point so far. I shall

give a more full account of the matter another time. It is now six o'clock, and I did not get to bed till half-after two; and this must be printed and published this afternoon. I think it right, to prevent misrepresentation, to report what I said upon the subject, especially as it was so very little. I attempted to speak four or five times during the evening; but did not get an opportunity. The debate was closing at half-after twelve; and the main argument of the opponents of Lord ASHLEY was, that if two hours labour from these children, under eighteen years of age, were taken off, the consequences, on a national scale, might be "truly dreadful"! It might, and would, destroy manufacturing capital; prevent us from carrying on competition with foreign manufacturers; reduce mills to a small part of their present value; and break up, as it were, the wealth and power of the country; render it comparatively feeble; and expose it to be an easy prey to foreign nations. What I said, was that which here follows, as near as I can recollect, word for word.

"Sir, I will make but one single observation upon this subject; and that is this: that this '*reformed*' House has, this night, made a *discovery* greater than all the discoveries that all former Houses of Commons have ever made, even if all their discoveries could have been put into one. Heretofore, we have sometimes been told that our ships, our mercantile traffic with foreign nations by the means of those ships, together with our body of rich merchants; we have sometimes been told that these form the source of our wealth, power, and security. At other times, the land has stepped forward, and bid us look to it, and its yeomanry, as the sure and solid foundation of our greatness and our safety. At other times, the Bank has pushed forward with her claims, and has told us, that great as the others were, they were nothing without '*PUBLIC CREDIT*,' upon which, not only the prosperity and happiness, but the very independence of the country depended. But, Sir,

"we have this night discovered, that the shipping, the land, and the Bank and its credit, are all nothing worth compared with the labour of three hundred thousand little girls in Lancashire! Aye, when compared with only an eighth part of the labour of those three hundred thousand little girls, from whose labour, if we only deduct two hours a day, away goes the wealth, away goes the capital, away go the resources, the power, and the glory of England! With what pride and what pleasure, sir, will the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. P. Thomson), and the honourable member for MANCHESTER behind me, go northward with the news of this discovery, and communicate it to that large portion of the little girls whom they have the honour and the happiness to represent!"

Strange to say, our Chancellor of the Exchequer really appeared to be *angry* with me for this! For, having complimented the mill-owners on the "*strong minds*," of which they had given proof, he was "*free to confess*," that in the speech of the honourable member for Oldham he found a very "*striking contrast*" with the effusions of those strong minds!

BISHOP OF EXETER'S SPEECH.

LAST night (18. July) this Bishop made a speech, I believe, nearly five hours in length, against the Irish Church "*Reform*" Bill, as it has been ridiculously called. I will preserve the whole of this speech, first and last, in the *Register*, if I can, as a great curiosity; and I begin with it here.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

IRISH CHURCH TEMPORALITIES BILL.

The Bishop of EXETER said, that it was unnecessary for him to assure their lordships that he rose to address them with feelings of the greatest anxiety upon this subject. When he considered the great importance of the subject itself, and that it involved such serious

difficulties as now stated by the noble Lord who had just sat down, and yet when he heard that noble Lord state, notwithstanding all his solemn objections to the measure, that he would vote that the bill should be read a second time. When he found a noble and discriminating mind, like that of the noble Lord, forced to consent—from policy to consent—to the second reading of this bill, in the face and in spite of all the objections and principles which he had raised against the measure, he (the Bishop of Exeter) could not but feel the responsibility of the task which he had undertaken in venturing to offer his sentiments to their lordships upon this subject. Yet he was content to bear all that responsibility, and to lay aside all personal feelings, in order that he might do what he considered his duty to the Church of God. He believed that there was some part of this bill which he should be obliged to treat of with some degree of restraint. In another place a right had been asserted, which had always been firmly and prudently denied to them by that House, to consider and decide on the amount of any tax that might be laid on the country by Parliament. He lamented that that right had been asserted, on such an occasion as the present, because the tax to be laid on by the bill then before their lordships was laid upon a set of men who were not represented in the other House of Parliament—at least, not by any of their own order, and who were not, therefore, enabled to defend their rights. He thought, then, that the present bill ought to have been brought, in the first place, into the other House of Parliament, where those guardians of the church were, (Hear, hear), whose duty it was to watch over the rights and interests of the church, and who were always ready to do so. He was aware of the ground on which the other House claimed the right of instituting all bills which had connexion with the raising of money, and he, nor he should think any one, would wish to see it abandon that right. The other House claimed the right, because they were the representatives of the whole nation, and

because their constituents would have to bear the greatest part of every burden which might be laid upon the country. But in the present instance quite the contrary was the case. The constituents of the members of the other House of Parliament would have but a very small part to bear of the tax laid on by the bill (hear, hear); and he thought that the very principle on which they claimed that right was the principle on which they ought to have commenced the bill in their Lordships' House, in order to enable the representatives of the body of men on whom the tax was principally to be imposed, to consider and to consent to the measure, before it was submitted to the other House of Parliament. He thought that means could have been found, by which such a course could be pursued; for instance, by bringing the plan before their Lordships in a series of resolutions, instead of bringing in by bill, as had been done. If that course had been pursued, they should have had time and opportunity to consider the tax in all its bearings, and they should have been enabled to approach this great question with much less difficulty—with much less appearance of hardship to those on whom the tax was to be laid, and with much less chance of incurring a danger, which they were always anxious and always ought carefully to avoid—namely, the danger of a collision with the other House of Parliament. He was the more disposed to think that the bringing in of this measure by way of resolution than by bill would have been more advisable, as he thought they would by that course be more likely to come to a settlement which would be satisfactory to all parties. For, as the noble Earl had stated, that the great objects of the bill were, in the first place, the removal of a tax which had led more than any other to a spirit of insubordination among the people of Ireland, especially against the institutions of the Established Church; and, secondly, the improvement of the constitution of the church, or, rather, a better distribution of its revenues. Now as to the first of those propositions, it did not appear that there would be any parti-

have a difficulty; but by the second, the Government seemed to have intended a higher plan than was at first intended—namely, an improvement of the constitution of the church, or a better distribution of its revenues; and in order to accomplish that object, the noble Earl stated that they proposed, in the first place, the total and absolute abolition of Vestry Cess; in the second place, the augmentation of the smaller livings; and, in the third place, the building and repairing of churches. This was the way in which the noble Earl proposed to improve the constitution of the church and the distribution of its revenues. With regard to the plan proposed of abolishing the Vestry Cess, he would have to address their lordships at some length. And with regard to the other two parts of the proposed measure, he could say that no class of men could be more desirous to augment the smaller livings, and to build and repair churches, than the bishops. No men would more willingly forward any plan which might be proposed with an object of that kind in view; and he was sure, that in such a case, the bishops would throw all personal interests out of view, and would look to the necessity of the case, and would regard the pecuniary sacrifice which they might be called upon to make, merely as means placed in their hands to afford the nation the best opportunity of worshipping God, and of receiving the instructions of the gospel. (Hear, hear). It would be found that by the statement made by the noble Earl last night, no means were provided in the present measure for the accomplishment of these objects. From the figures stated by the noble Earl (and he hoped the noble Earl would correct him if he happened to make a mistake), he understood him to say, that the amount of the church cess to be abolished was 63,241*l.*, the augmentation of 465 livings, which was the number to be augmented, since it appeared that that was the number of less value than 200*l.* a year, and that the average number of raising them to that sum would be 46,500*l.* The building of churches he had stated at 20,000*l.* a

year, and the building of glebe-houses at 10,000*l.* a year. This made a total sum of 139,741*l.* But in that calculation the noble Earl had forgotten one item. He had forgotten no less a sum than 5,000*l.* a year, which was the charge for the commissioners. (Hear).

Earl GREY was understood to say, that that sum would be defrayed out of other sources.

(To be continued.)

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JULY 12, 1833.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

BELL, E., Cambridge, grocer.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

GUTHRIE, R., Cochraue-terrace, Portland-town, tailor.

BANKRUPTS.

ARKELL, J., Stratford-upon-Avon, auctioneer.

CASE, J. R., Hunter-street, Brunswick-square, grocer.

FLUDE, T. S., Mincing-lane, wine-broker.

FORD, T., late of Canal-road Wharf, Kingsland-road, coal-merchant.

GIFFORD, J., Lopen, Somersetshire, lime-burner.

HONE, R., Brighton, grocer.

KENDRICK, W., Birmingham, jeweller.

KENWORTHY, J. R., Liverpool, druggist.

LANGRIDGE, J., Salisbury, stay-maker.

LEDWARD, E., Liverpool, hat-manufacturer.

PAUL, J., Houndsditch, baker.

POTTER, W., Broad-street, Golden-square, grocer.

RADCLIFFE, S., Stockport, Cheshire, cotton-spinner.

RIGLEY, J. M., Pontefract, merchant.

TYLER, M., Lyncombe and Widcombe, Somersetshire, retail-brewer.

WATSON, R., Bury, Lancashire, cotton-manufacturer.

WILSON, J., and H. R. Willson, St. Osyth, Essex, grocers.

TUESDAY, JULY 16, 1833.

INSOLVENT.

STEWART, J. C., late of Calcutta, but now of Torrington-square, merchant and agent.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

PARKER, J. T., Cambridge, broker, carpenter, and baker.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

ELLIS, D., now or late of Bourne, Stroud, Gloucestershire, boat-builder.
 KNOWLSON, W., W. Skin, A. Baylis, and D. Allison, Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancashire, drapers and grocers.

BANKRUPTS.

AMOS, J. Birmingham, corn-factor.
 BELLAMY, W., Sheffield, corn-factor and miller.
 CROCKITT, E., Grane-yard, Sedgley, Staffordshire, pig-iron-maker.
 HUSTABLE, J., Bristol, freestone-merchant.
 JENNINGS, J. C., and W. C. Jennings, Bristol, corn and provision-merchants.
 JONES, W. now or late of Bridgend, Glamorganshire, mason and builder.
 PAYNE, T., late of Folkestone, Kent, inn-keeper.
 POWELL, C., Birmingham, linen-draper.
 SOLLOWAY, J., Powick, Worcestershire, horse-dealer.
 STOKES, T., now or late of Cradley, Worcestershire, druggist and grocer.
 TONGUE, M., Theatre Tavern, Lower Temple-street, Birmingham, retail brewer and grocer.
 WRIGHT, U., Bury-street, St. James, Westminster, carpenter and joiner.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, July 15.—The supplies fresh up to this morning's market from the home counties were only moderate. The trade opened brisk for Wheat, and an advance of 2s. to 3s. per qr. was demanded for the better qualities of Corn. As, however, the prices of Flour remained undecided, millers refrained from purchasing, and the market closed dull, with an improvement of 1s. to 2s. per qr. for the better descriptions, as compared with this day se'nnight; and an extra fine Essex sample obtained 67s. St. Swithin, which is an ominous day in Mark-lane, has passed without rain, which some speculators will no doubt consider favourable, though we understand in the environs the Saint preserved his watery character. In bonded Corn there was a partial inquiry, but holders having advanced their demands, prevented actual business from transpiring.

Barley was in very short supply, and, owing to the scarcity of samples, grinding qualities are noted 1s per qr. higher.

In Malt no variation.

Oats experienced a fair demand, and the prices of this day se'nnight were supported.

Beans dull, and prices nominally unaltered.

Peas come very sparingly to hand, and the late rates fully supported, both of Boiling and Hog descriptions.

A few of the leading millers would not sell Flour under 55s. per sack; but the principal portion considered the top quotation 53s, and

a few did not advance their quotation, this unsettled state of the trade the transacting was limited.

Wheat	54s. to
Rye	32s. to
Barley	25s. to
— fine	28s. to
Peas, White	32s. to
— Boilers	38s. to
— Grey	33s. to
Beans, Small	—s. to
— Tick	31s. to
Oats, Potato	22s. to
— Feed	16s. to
Flour, per sack	48s. to

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new	—s. to 110s.
— Mess, new	—s. to 60s. per lb.
Butter, Belfast	—s. to —s. per lb.
— Carlow	—s. to —s.
— Cork	73s. to 74s.
— Limerick ..	73s. to 74s.
— Waterford ..	74s. to 75s.
— Dublin	—s. to —s.

SMITHFIELD.—July 15.

This day's supply of each kind of fat was, for the time of year, good, both numbers and quality. With prime Mutton, Lamb, and Veal, trade was some brisk; with Beef, the middling and in kinds of Mutton, Lamb, and Veal, and with Pork, very dull, at Friday's quotation.

A full moiety of the Beasts were horns, chiefly from Lincolnshire and Leicestershire; and the remainder about equal numbers of Scots, intermixed with a few home-breds, Welsh runts, and Devons, perhaps, 100 Town's-end Cows, and about many Herefords, the same number of a few Sussex beasts, Staffords, &c. Scots, &c., chiefly from Norfolk, with a few of them from Essex, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire; the Devons and Welsh runts, for the most part from Northamptonshire, our land and western districts; the Sussex from Sussex, and the Town's-end Cows, chiefly from the London marshes.

About four-sixths of the Sheep were Leicesters, of the South Down and faced crosses, in the proportion of about one of the former to five of the latter; about one seventh South Downs, and the remainder about equal numbers of polled Norfolks, Kents, Kentish half-breds, and old Leicesters, with a few old Lincolns, horned Norfolks, Dorsets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

About a moiety of the Lambs appeared to be South Downs, about a fourth new Leicesters, and the remaining fourth about equal numbers of Dorsets, and Kentish half-breds, with a few Kents, &c.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, July 19.

The arrivals this week are fair. The market, at the prices of Monday.

THE FUNDS.

Cent.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Ann. }	88½	88	88½	89½	89	89

COBBETT-LIBRARY.

New Edition.

COBBETT'S Spelling-Book (Price 2s.)

Containing, besides all the usual matter of such a book, a clear and concise

INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

This I have written by way of

A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar;

such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this book sixty thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3s. bound in boards.

2. An ITALIAN GRAMMAR, by JAMES PAUL COBBETT.—Being a Plain and Compendious Introduction to the Study of Italian. Price 6s.

3. TULL'S HORSE-HOEING and GARDENING; or, a Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation. With an Introduction, by W. M. COBBETT. 8vo. Price 15s.

4. THE EMIGRANT'S GUIDE. Just now Published, under this Title, a little volume, containing Ten Letters, addressed to English Tax-payers. A new edition, with a Manuscript, containing an account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett. Price 2s. 6d. in bds.

5. THE WOODLANDS; or, a Treatise on the preparing of the ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 14s. bound in boards.

6. YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.—The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 5s.

7. FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. Price, bound in boards, 5s.

9. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writings also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

10. POOR MAN'S FRIEND. A new edition. Price 8d.

11. THE LAW OF TURNPIKES. By William Cobbett, Jun., Student of Lincoln's Inn. Price 3s. 6d. boards.

12. ROMAN HISTORY, French and English, intended, not only as a History for Young People to read, but as a Book of Exercises to accompany my French Grammar. Two Volumes. Price 13s. in boards.

13. PAPER AGAINST GOLD; or, the History and Mystery of the National Debt, the Bank of England, the Funds, and all the Trickery of Paper Money. The Price of this book, very nicely printed, is 5s.

14. MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS.—This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law. The Price is 17s., and the manner of its execution is I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

15. MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE. Second Edition. Price 2s. 6d.

16. LETTERS FROM FRANCE: containing Observations made in that Country during a Residence of Two Months in the South, and Three Months at Paris. By JOHN M. COBBETT. Price 4s. in boards.

17. SERMONS.—There are twelve of these, in one volume, on the following subjects: 1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Bribery; 4. Oppression; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Sluggard; 7. The Murderer; 8. The Gamester; 9. Public Robbery; 10. The Unnatural Mother; 11. The Sin of Forbidding Marriage; 12. On the Duties of Parsons, and on the Institution and Object of Tithes. Price 3s. 6d. bound in boards.

A Thirteenth Sermon, entitled "GOOD FRIDAY; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews." Price 6d.

Just published, price 12s.

**A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY
OF ENGLAND AND WALES;**

CONTAINING

The names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions, into Hundreds, Lathes, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions.

ALSO,

The names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are

MAPS;

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

FOUR TABLES

Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

Just published, price 6s. a new edition of the

ENGLISH GARDENER,

OR,

A TREATISE

On the Situation, Soil, Enclosing and Laying-Out of Kitchen Gardens; on the Making and Managing of Hot-beds and Green-Houses; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen-Garden Plants, and of Fruit-Trees whether of the Garden or the Orchard.

AND ALSO,

On the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower-Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers;

CONCLUDING WITH

A KALENDAR,

Giving instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other labours, to be performed in the Gardens, in each Month of the Year.

By WILLIAM COBBETT.

Was Published on the 1. of July,

Price Two Shillings,

COBBETT'S MAGAZINE; a Monthly Review of Politics, History, Science, Literature, Arts, &c. &c. The Contents of the Number are as follows:—The Drama and Dramatic Literature—Marloe—Fine Arts—The Royal Academy Exhibition, No. II—Fascia—Foreign Tyranny and Persecution—The Book of Economy—Invocation to the Fairies—The College of Physicians—The Execution—Morning Dew and Ladies Complexions—Patriotism; or, Our Love for and Duty to our Country, No. III—Myary's Letters to the Editors—"Best possible" Chronicles of Consistency—Administration and Operation of the Poor-Laws—Natural History—Events of the Month—Critical Notices, &c.

BLAIR'S GOUT AND RHEUMATIC PILLS possess the inestimable property of affording immediate relief, with the certainty of a cure in a few days, proved by the experience of many thousands of persons within the last twelve months, including many of the first rank and distinction. These pills are the recent discovery of an eminent physician, are perfectly free from those poisonous drugs so generally used as remedies for the gout and rheumatism for many years past, and which, if giving temporary relief, have never failed to impair the constitution. A few doses will relieve the severest lumbago, as well as rheumatic head-ache and pains in the face, and will also, by their peculiar properties and the quickness of the cure, prevent the debility so much complained of after an attack of rheumatic gout. Sold wholesale, retail, and for exportation, by Thomas Prout, 29, Strand, London, seven doors from Temple-bar (price 2s. 9d. per box), and by most medicine venders in town and country. Country venders can obtain them through their London agents; Messrs. Keene, Bath, have just received a supply.

HOME-MADE WINE. — The peculiar adaptation of BETT'S PATENT FRENCH-DISTILLED BRANDY to the improvement of British Wines, has long induced Connoisseurs to adopt it in preference to any other Spirit. The harshness incident to all home-made Wines, and which hitherto age alone could correct, is entirely avoided, and a maturity and mellowness imparted to the Wines which the PATENT BRANDY is exclusively capable of producing.

J. T. BETTS and Co. deem it expedient to state, that their only Establishment is at No. 7, Smithfield Bars (leading to St. John-street), where the PATENT BRANDY, either PALE or COLOURED, may be had, in quantities of not less than two gallons, at Eighteen Shillings per Imperial Gallon, for cash on delivery.

N.B. A liberal allowance to the Trade.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court: and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.